

SECOND GENERATION HISPANIC-AMERICAN YOUNG ADULTS' RESPONSE
TO POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS FROM THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGN

by

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Abstract

Political campaigns use television advertisements to win Latinos' votes. These advertisements, which are solely for electoral purposes, may not fully understand the differences in the Latino population that can influence their political views and tend to clump Latinos as one homogenous group just because they all speak Spanish. This study used focus groups to examine the opinions of second-generation Hispanic American young adults about Spanish and English political television advertisements from the 2008 Obama and McCain Presidential campaigns. Male and female participants thought that neither the Spanish nor the English advertisements were targeted at them, and their thoughts differed slightly according to their gender. Furthermore, participants disliked attack advertisements and advertisements they thought were misleading or contained false information. They were more receptive to those that contained policy information and those that specifically talked about education.

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Introduction

The Latino population in the U.S. is growing rapidly. In 2010, the Hispanic population reached 50.5 million people, making it the largest minority in the U.S. comprising 16.3% of the country's population (Passel, Cohn, & Lopez, 2011). Of these roughly 50 million, 33 million Latinos were old enough to vote, while over 17 million were under 18 years of age. About 7 million, mostly older Latinos, voted in the 2004 Presidential election, but significantly fewer younger and recently naturalized Latinos participated in the same election (Leal, Barreto, Lee, & de la Garza, 2005). Latinos are likely to become a stronger and more vocal minority as more become eligible to vote. A large number of young Latinos comprise a large portion of the voting population in battleground states like Colorado, New Mexico, Virginia, Florida, Nevada, and Arizona (Barreto, 2012). Understanding how young Latinos react to political advertisements could help improve strategies for future political campaigns. This study looked at the reaction of a particular subset of the Latino community, second generation young adult Hispanic-Americans, to Spanish and English language political advertisements from the 2008 Presidential campaign. The study aimed to get a glimpse of their thoughts and opinions towards these advertisements, such as what messages and language they identified with, and what advertisements they perceived to be credible.

Journalists and organizations, like the Pew Hispanic Center, usually use the terms Latino and Hispanic interchangeably, but these words contain subtle differences (Hakimzadeh & Cohn, 2007). Latino is defined as gender-specific, encompassing all people from Latin countries –Spain, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, etc.– regardless of what language they speak (Latino, n.d.). In contrast, Hispanic is defined as only including

Spanish-speaking people from Spain or Latin America who are living in the U.S. as citizens or residents (Hispanic, n.d.). The term Hispanic is used by the U.S. government and therefore has an Anglo-American bias. These two terms will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis because both definitions describe people with Latin backgrounds.

The Hispanic ethnic group in the U.S. is diverse. This group is comprised of Mexicans, Cubans, people from Caribbean countries, Central Americans, South Americans, and Puerto Ricans who are either naturalized or US-born (Connaughton & Jarvis, 2004a). The one commonality among Hispanics, except for those from a few Caribbean islands, is that they mostly come from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Most naturalized Latinos who are in the U.S. do not speak English proficiently (Hakimzaden & Cohn, 2007). As generations of Latinos are being born in the U.S., English is becoming the language more commonly spoken in these households.

For the purpose of this study, first and second generation Hispanics are defined using the Pew Hispanic Center's definitions: First generation Hispanics are born outside the U.S. and fall under the category of U.S. naturalized citizens, or legal or illegal immigrants; second generation Hispanics are born in the U.S. and therefore are U.S. citizens, and they have at least one parent born in a Latin American country (Suro & Passel, 2003). A Pew Hispanic Center study estimates that by 2020 the population of Hispanics in the U.S. will grow to 60.4 million and that 36% of this population, or 21.7 million, will be second generation (Suro & Passel, 2003).

For 50 years, the majority of the Latino population –except for Cubans in Florida– affiliated themselves with the Democratic Party (Hill, Moreno, & Cue, 2001; Moreno & Warren, 1992). Many political researchers believe this was due to Democratic support for

issues significant to immigrants, such as immigration, the economy, and education (Alvarez & Bedolla, 2003; Pantoja, Ramirez, Segura, 2001). However, recent evidence shows Latinos are not a consistent base for any political party (Alvarez & Bedolla, 2003; Lopez, Montoya, & Santana, 2005; Ramirez, 2007; Welch & Sigelman, 1993). In the 2004 Presidential election Latinos gave George W. Bush 40% of their total vote and the edge he needed to win (Lopez, 2008). Republicans thought they had tapped into this voting bloc, as fewer Latinos were voting for Democratic candidates in every election since 1999 (CNN, 2004; Fry, 2008). This pattern was reversed in the Presidential election of 2008; Obama got 67% of the Latino vote while McCain got 31% (CNN, 2008; Lopez, 2008). Some attribute this shift to Latinos' dissatisfaction with Bush's performance, which was higher than the rest of Americans' disapproval of Bush shown in exit polls (CNN, 2008; Von Kanel & Quinley, 2008). A recent Gallup poll show that second generation Hispanics have slightly more conservative views than first generation Hispanics, and third generation Hispanics are more conservative than their parents, further enforcing the notion that Latinos are not a consistent base for either Republicans or Democrats (Page, 2012).

Marketing research aiming at Latino consumers abounds. In order to target all Hispanics, marketing campaigns consider them a single consumer group that speaks Spanish, and thus create all their advertisements in Spanish on Latino television stations (Abrajano, 2005; Albonetti & Dominguez, 1989; Nicholls & Roslow, 1999). Studies show that even though Hispanic households are composed of bilinguals, television commercials targeted at Hispanics are usually in Spanish. The studies suggest that many

marketers ignore Hispanics' ability to speak and understand English when creating television commercials regardless of Hispanics' bilingual abilities.

Moving from marketing to political advertisements, the limited research available has focused mainly on acculturation—the absorption of a different culture, usually a language, by an individual or a group (acculturation, 2003; DeSipio & Uhlaner, 2007). The Pew Hispanic Center calculates that over two thirds of U.S. born Latinos are bilingual, yet they are clumped with only Spanish speakers when being targeted by the media (Albonetti & Dominguez, 1989; Hakimzaden & Cohn, 2007; Nicholls & Roslow, 1999; Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). There is no research available to see which language is the most effective for the generation of Latinos born in the U.S. This could mean that political advertisements –and perhaps even marketing advertisements– might not be effectively reaching the growing number of U.S. born Latinos who, as research in the literature review will show, are more comfortable speaking English rather than Spanish.

Political campaigns are always eager to learn better ways of targeting their advertisements during an election season. Both the Democratic and Republican parties seek the vote of U.S. born Hispanic-Americans. Understanding the preferred language and cultural level of second generation younger Hispanic-Americans can potentially help these political parties target their advertisements more appropriately.

Literature Review

Few studies exist that focus on second-generation young adult Latinos' perceptions of political advertisements. This literature review focuses on past political campaigns aimed at Hispanics, the varying acculturation rate of Hispanics according to their generations, the language of preference of Hispanics of different generations, and Hispanics' advertisement recall in both Spanish and English. Only two areas of research, acculturation rates and language preference, looked at the differences according to generation, while political campaigns research and advertisement recall looked at Hispanics equally.

Portrayal of Latinos by Political Parties

Studies on political advertisements aimed at Latinos show that they rarely discuss policy and instead depict a positive, homogeneous Latino community and a favorable image of the candidates. A study conducted by Connaughton and Jarvis (2004a) evaluated political television advertisements directed at Latino communities. Using advertisements targeted at Latinos in English or Spanish that were shown during the 1984, 1988, 1996 and 2000 Presidential campaigns, the authors conducted a content analysis to see how Latinos were portrayed and to see each party's strategy. They found that both parties ignored Latino national origins, and portrayed them as just Latinos. Additionally, Latino families were shown as protected, happy, and assimilated to the U.S. society. The advertisements targeted at Latino communities rarely focused on policies or the candidates' stances on issues.

A second study by Connaughton and Jarvis (2004b) looked specifically at the Republican Party's outreach to Latinos in the 2000 Presidential election. Using the same

data on television advertisements from the previous study, they also concluded that the advertisements grouped all Latino ethnicities into one category. The Latinos portrayed in the advertisements were satisfied and happy people, and the messages in the advertisements emphasized family values and identification with White, suburban US citizens. The advertisements did not mention policy issues.

Another study examined Spanish and English political television advertisements during the 2000 elections (Abrajano, 2005). This dissertation was a content analysis of all television advertisements in Spanish and English for the Presidential, Senate, and House elections. The researcher concluded that the English-language television advertisements contained more policy information, while the Spanish-language advertisements contained more information on the candidate's likeability. However, the researcher coded advertisements about Latino equality, opportunity, and reaching the "American Dream" as non-policy related themes. All of these studies argued that political television advertisements in Spanish tended to treat Hispanics as a monolithic group, provide a vision of Latinos living happily in the U.S, and focus less on policy than English advertisements did.

Acculturation Effects

Several studies show that as U.S. born Latinos become more acculturated, their trust of the government and patriotism decreases. These studies looked specifically at the Mexican-American population, which makes up over half of the Hispanic-American population. Wenzel (2006) used data from a survey conducted in a region in Texas that borders Mexico, where a large number of Latinos of Mexican descent lived. The survey asked questions pertaining to government trust. The results showed that foreign-born

Latinos from the area, who were less acculturated, were more trusting of the U.S. federal government than U.S.-born Latinos with a higher level of socialization. Wenzel measured acculturation by the language spoken in different settings, and by the ethnicities of the people with whom the respondents interacted.

Another study looked at the political trust among Latinos living in Chicago. Michelson (2001) conducted a telephone survey with Latinos in the Chicago area about government trust and government spending of tax money. The results showed that Mexican-American citizens were twice as more distrusting of the government than non-citizen Mexicans living in Chicago. Mexican-American citizens thought the government wasted money and that government officials were corrupt. This study did not specify if Mexican-American citizens were U.S. born or naturalized, so it may encompass both populations.

A different study by Michelson (2003) looked at a much larger population of Mexican-Americans. Just like in her previous study, but this time looking at the entire country, she hypothesized that Mexican-American acculturation lead to a deterioration of their trust in government. She used data from the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) that asked questions about political trust and Latinos' feelings about elected government officials. Previous research showed that when people were less trusting of their government, they became more cynical as voters, and more likely to support third party candidates. The Latino respondents were from the 40 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S. Using regression analysis, Michelson found that as Mexican Americans became more acculturated, they became more cynical towards the government. U.S. born Mexican-Americans were more assimilated to U.S. culture and less trusting of the

government than foreign-born Mexican-Americans. Michelson measured acculturation by the respondents' use and proficiency of the English language.

A study by de la Garza, Falcon, and Garcia (1996) compared Mexican-Americans' support of American political values, such as patriotism, with those of Anglos Americans. Patriotism measures a positive sentiment for the government the same way political trust does. The authors used the same LNPS survey as Michelson (2003) and a similar regression analysis to answer their questions. Half of the Mexican-Americans surveyed was U.S.-born, and the other half was foreign-born. The results showed that Mexican-Americans as a whole were as likely as Anglo-Americans to favor patriotic values, but when dividing the results by country of origin, the results also showed that foreign-born Mexican-Americans displayed more patriotic feelings than Anglos. Therefore, in accordance with Wenzel (2006) and Michelson's (2001, 2003) studies, Mexican-Americans who were born in the U.S. had less patriotic feelings than those born outside the country. Second generation Mexican Americans had similar opinions to that of Anglo-Americans.

However, not all the studies saw that more acculturation resulted in less political trust. An unpublished study presented at the Midwest Political Science Association conference by McRee and Setzler (2008) looked at Mexican-American youths' resistance to political incorporation. They used data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, which represented all youth in the U.S. from 7th to 12th grade. They found that fewer Mexican-American youth were distrusting of the government and political process than expected. Young Mexican-Americans were as committed to participate in politics as young Americans of other immigrant groups. Of the young

Mexican-Americans surveyed, 68% of them were second generation or U.S. born, and participants were more likely to speak English than Spanish.

These studies looked at how acculturation affected second-generation Mexican-Americans' political views. All of the studies compared the acculturation levels of Mexican-Americans of different generations. Most of these studies discussed how the increase of acculturation of Mexican-Americans increased the distrust they felt towards the government. The studies that show this trend surveyed adult Mexican-Americans 18 years of age or older. The single study that manifested a different result observed a younger population. The increase in patriotism of young Mexican-Americans could be due to the influence of a U.S. education at a young age. Second-generation Mexican-Americans spend their youth in the U.S., while living with foreign-born parents. They are a group learning two cultures and two languages at the same time. It is important to look at their level of bilingualism as a transitional generation. The following section will establish the language preference of second generation Hispanic-American children and adults.

Hispanic-Americans' Language Preference

Second generation Hispanic-American adults are bilingual but are more likely to speak English than Spanish. Two studies specifically concentrate on second generation adult Latinos. The first is the National Survey of Latinos conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center and the Kaiser Family Foundation in 2002 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2004). It looked at Latinos' assimilation to American culture through language. The telephone survey of Latinos of all generations asked what language they spoke more often at home. Only 7% of second generation Latinos who responded stated they spoke Spanish more, while 46%

answered they spoke English more, and 47%, stated they spoke both languages equally at home.

Other studies look at second generation Latino children's language preference. A typical study is one by Alba (2004), who used the 2000 and the 1990 Census studies to analyze bilingualism among children of immigrants aged 6 to 15 years. The analysis looked again at Mexican-Americans, who comprise a large percentage of the overall Hispanic-American population, and found that in 2000 most Mexican-American children of the second generation spoke English well. Over 91% of them spoke English well while only 9% could not properly speak English. This study did not look at the amount of Spanish spoken by the children over time, but assumed bilingualism by using a specific question in the Census asking if the person spoke a language other than English at home. This study is relevant because, as stated in the previous studies in the Acculturation section, although it looked at Mexican-Americans specifically, this group comprises the overall Hispanic population in the U.S.

A more recent study by Fry and Passel (2009) obtained specific demographic information on Hispanic children. They analyzed data from the U.S. Census Bureau and from a recent population survey. Their results showed that as of 2007, only 21% of second-generation Latino children aged 5 years and older did not speak English adequately, compared to 67% who spoke English very well, and 12% who only spoke English. Almost 75% of this group was of Mexican origin.

All three studies looked at the language preference of Mexican-American children or adults. They showed that although the second generation was bilingual there were more people comfortable speaking English than Spanish on a daily basis. Even though

second generation Mexican-Americans were more likely to speak English, the next section will show that Latinos recall more information in Spanish than in English.

Spanish- vs. English-Language Advertisement Recall

Bilingual Hispanics have a better recall, and are more persuaded by Spanish-language television advertisements than by English-language advertisements. Nicholls and Roslow (1999) conducted an experiment to see what television commercials were more effective at persuading Hispanics. Participants of this experiment were grouped according to their English-speaking ability and amount of English spoken at home. The four groups were divided as: more Spanish than English speakers, more English than Spanish speakers, equal English and Spanish speakers, and dominant Spanish speakers. Every group watched the same brand television commercials in Spanish and English and was interviewed afterwards. The experiment revealed that all three bilingual groups were persuaded more by Spanish advertisements than by English advertisements of the same brand. They concluded that Spanish language advertising was more effective for the Hispanic market.

A second experiment by these authors looked at how much Hispanics recalled advertisement information. Roslow and Nicholls (1996) conducted an experiment with the same four groups of Spanish and English speaking levels as in their previous study. They made each individual rate their purchase interest of certain products by allocating a certain number of chips to the brands they were more likely to buy before and after watching television commercials for those brands in Spanish and English. They would then measure the level of persuasion of the advertisement according to the number of chips the brand received. Their results showed that all four groups of Hispanics had better

recall of Spanish advertisements than English ones. This suggested that the mother tongue remained dominant for bilinguals, which is why they remembered information in Spanish better than in English.

In a study by Albonetti and Dominguez (1989), the focus was to look at marketing company managers instead of Hispanic consumers. They wanted to learn how the marketing companies approached the Hispanic market. The authors mailed paper surveys to all the marketing companies. They found that 70% of respondents believed Spanish-language advertisements –television advertisements included– were better at targeting young Hispanics because their mother tongue triggered an emotive response. Over half of the respondents said Spanish-language advertisements were the most effective way at reaching Hispanics. All these studies conclude that Hispanics have better recall of advertisements in Spanish. However, studies only looked at consumer advertisements and did not look at the effect of political advertisements, and they did not analyze their research according to the generation of their Hispanic respondents.

This literature review found that as second-generation Mexican-Americans' acculturation increased, evident by their preference for speaking English over Spanish, they became more distrusting of the U.S. government. The distrust is a trait very much in line with Anglo-American patriotic values. Although Mexican-Americans showed a predilection for the English language, they recalled more information when watching advertisements in Spanish than advertisements in English. Specifically, when looking at political advertisements the literature revealed that political parties stereotyped and homogenized Latinos in their campaign advertisements, most of which lacked policy content. Despite the research gathered on this subject, it is yet unknown which political

advertisements, Spanish or English, are more influential to Hispanic-Americans. It is important to learn how this large and influential group of voters responds to political advertisements. In this light, this study will attempt to answer the main question:

RQ: How do second generation Hispanic American young adults respond to the Spanish and English political advertisements from the Presidential campaign of 2008? To answer this research question I will attempt to answer three more specific questions that look at different angles:

RQ1: Did participants relate more to advertisements in Spanish than English, and why?

RQ2: How credible did participants find the advertisements?

RQ3: How did participants react to the tone of the advertisements?

Method

Almost all of the research studies that evaluate politics and Latinos used quantitative methods such as surveys, polls, and content analyses. Few studies used qualitative methods like interviewing and focus groups to learn the in-depth reactions, thoughts, and feelings of Latinos. This study used focus groups to look at second-generation Hispanic-American young adults' reactions to Spanish and English language political advertisements from the 2008 Presidential election campaign. The focus group method enabled participants to discuss and divulge their feelings and emotions in depth and therefore in ways that polls and surveys cannot capture. I chose the 2008 Presidential election campaign because it was the most recent national campaign that people would remember.

The original research proposal of this study was to look at one specific group, second generation Mexican-American young adults. Due to limited time and resources that yielded a very small pool of possible recruits, I decided to open up the study to second generation Hispanic-Americans, including Puerto Ricans.

Recruited focus group participants that qualified were composed of second-generation male and female Latino young adults who were bilingual and registered voters. Being old enough to vote, this age group was only exposed to a few Presidential elections. These participants were recruited through postings on the Johns Hopkins Gazette, and personal recruitment through the Latino Organization at the Johns Hopkins University. All prospective participants were given prescreening questions to verify qualification and to obtain contact information. The pre-screening questions asked for the

participant's age, place of birth in the U.S., parents' place of birth, voter registration status, and Spanish speaking ability.

Of all 25 recruits who responded to the ad, 14 individuals qualified and 12 participated in the focus groups held on November 15, 2010. Each focus group lasted approximately 90 minutes. Krueger and Casey (2009) recommended separating the groups by demographic characteristics such as gender to create compatibility among participants that would translate into more honest discussions. Therefore one group consisted of all women and the other of all men in order to achieve a more frank and open level of conversation.

Prior to each focus group, each participant filled out a questionnaire with the basic screening questions plus additional questions regarding party identification, preferred news source, and demographics information such as marital status and level of education. These questionnaires provided more information about the participants but were also a way to check if the participants were the same people who were recruited. Each participant received a compensation of \$50.00 for participating. All focus group discussions were video and audio taped for analysis. Each discussion lasted between 90 to 110 minutes long.

Before recruiting, I sought approval from the Homewood Institutional Review Board (HIRB). As the moderator, I completed a training course and exam on the ethics of conducting research with human subjects. The Board reviewed and approved the proposed research plan, as well as the moderator's guide, recruiting materials, consent forms, and questionnaires (HIRB No. 2010109).

The moderator's guide for the focus groups was divided into four sections: (a) identity and acculturation; (b) political opinion and participation; (c) television advertisements recall of and reaction to the 2008 campaign; and (d) reaction to six television advertisements. Advertisements 1 through 4 were in Spanish, two from Barack Obama and two from John McCain; and advertisements 5 and 6 were in English, one from each party. These advertisements were obtained from the Political Communications Lab website from Stanford University (2008a; 2008b), which arranged the advertisements by the date they aired on television for the first time. The advertisements chosen for the focus groups were the following (list of advertisements by campaign, title, date first aired, and language):

1. Obama Campaign: "Un mensaje de Barack Obama" 10/23/2008 in Spanish
2. Obama Campaign: "No hay mayor obligación" 09/22/2009 in Spanish
3. McCain Campaign: "Riesgo" 10/16/2008 in Spanish
4. McCain Campaign: "Obama-Chávez" 09/19/2008 in Spanish
5. Obama Campaign: "Tested" 10/09/2008 in English
6. McCain Campaign: "Freedom" 10/31/2008 in English

The advertisements consisted of an equal mix of two negative advertisements and one positive advertisement from each campaign. The Obama advertisements were comprised of one attack advertisement in Spanish (#2), one attack advertisement in English (#5), and one positive advertisement in Spanish (#1). The McCain ads were two attack advertisements in Spanish (#3 and #4), and one positive advertisement in English

(#6). There were no comparison ads in Spanish from the Obama campaign, which is why I chose not to show any comparison ads in Spanish from the McCain campaign. The McCain campaign had no positive advertisement in Spanish. Three attack advertisements (#2, #3, and #5) portrayed the opponent's economic policies negatively, while the fourth attack advertisement (#4) criticized the opponent's foreign policy. All four Spanish advertisements (#1, #2, #3, and #4) reflect the types of advertisements that were studied in the literature reviews. They group Latinos into one homogeneous group, mention the American Dream, and they fail to explain any specific policy from the candidate sponsoring the advertisement.

After both focus group discussions were completed, the discussions were transcribed. Each group interview was analyzed and themes were identified in relation to the research questions.

Results

Twelve young adults ages 18 to 32 participated in the focus groups, seven women and five men. The recruits were all enrolled at a university; eight were pursuing undergraduate degrees, while four recruits sought graduate degrees. At least one of their parents were born in one of the following countries: Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico or Venezuela. All twelve were registered to vote, two were married while the rest were single. One had children, ten did not, and one did not answer that question. Regarding party affiliation, eight stated they were registered Democrats, one was a registered Republican, and three were Independents. When asked where the participants got their news, they ranked (in order of most votes to least) the Internet, followed by family/friends, cable television (CNN, MSNBC, FNC), and last were a tie between television news (ABC, CBS, NBC) and newspapers.

When answering questions about their bilingualism, eleven described their level of bilingualism as fluent, while one stated knowing only some Spanish. When describing the language they spoke at home, seven stated they spoke Spanish at home, two said they spoke English at home, and three said they spoke Spanish and English equally at home. Describing the language they speak mostly at work, ten stated they mainly speak English, while one said they spoke Spanish and one described as speaking both English and Spanish equally.

Overall female participants responded more positively to candidate Obama's advertisements, and more negatively to candidate McCain's. Men responded negatively to both candidates, but liked McCain's advertisements more than women did.

RQ1: Did participants relate more to advertisements in Spanish or English, and why?

In response to RQ1, the theme that emerged consistently among male and female focus group participants was that they did not think they were the target audience of the Spanish- or English-language television advertisements. Some comments included, “I don’t necessarily feel that the advertisements spoke to someone like me in my position,” “Nothing was really connecting me to what they were saying regardless of English or Spanish,” and “I don’t think any of them really spoke to me as a young adult.”

Male and female participants wanted to see more information about education, such as the Dream Act, student loans, and affordable education than about any other issue. This issue appeared to be more important to them than the economy. Some participants explained, “They don’t really relate to me, because my issues at that time were education,” “I was looking for ... how is either candidate going to help me get through college, pay for this, and none of these actually spoke about that,” and “All the struggles we go through with the Dream Act...that’s what I’m looking for.”

Moreover, both male and female participants thought the advertisements targeted older generations and not them. They stated, “The fluffy Obama [advertisement “Un Mensaje de Barack Obama”] was more for an elderly person, and the other [advertisements were] for my parents, but I don’t think there was one specifically for me,” and “It would appeal more to my parents than to me.” In addition, one advertisement that specifically mentioned the “American Dream” got these reactions: “It’s still aimed at the family rather than me in particular, and even then I still think the older generation, like my grandmother’s generation, would be affected more,” and “The

third ad [Barack Obama's "No Hay Mayor Obligación"]... would be the one to most stick with my parents because that is the reason they came here."

Although male and female participants did not relate to the advertisements, they generally approved of a candidate speaking in Spanish. Most participants in both the male and female focus groups formed positive opinions about Obama after watching the advertisement where he spoke in Spanish the entire time [Un Mensaje de Barack Obama]. They said, "I appreciate that, I mean it wasn't perfect but he did really well," "I like the effort. It doesn't bother me that he speaks in Spanish, and I like that he presents some points," and finally, "I actually liked him speaking in Spanish. I mean –his accent and Spanish aside– I thought it was nice actually to have him try at least. I thought it made me connect more with him."

At the same time, men were more divided when talking about the Obama advertisement [Un Mensaje de Barack Obama]. A few men were wary of Obama speaking Spanish and deemed it too political. They said, "I don't like the fact that he tried," "I still don't like the 'I'm speaking in Spanish so vote for me' thing," and "It is a little sappy and a lot of politicians kind of play that card, pull up our skirts."

RQ2: How Credible Did Participants Find the Advertisements?

The responses related to RQ2 varied among males and female participants. Unlike women, men expressed skepticism regarding the content of the television advertisements, because it lacked clear solutions. One male participant said, "But McCain never proved to me, 'Ok, what am I going to do about it [the economy]?'". Another male participant said, "I just kind of shut off when they start to make these grand generalizations. I have trouble believing anything that they say, everything that they're saying is directly linked

and it's going to produce X results. I just shut off when they start talking about that.”

One other comment was, “He attacked, he did the Wall Street thing... but it didn't really show to me what [he's] going to do about it.”

Female participants had stronger emotional reactions to the McCain advertisement than men. They reacted more negatively than the men because of the lack of relevance of the advertisement towards a Presidential election: “I find it very frustrating...[he] was in the army and good for [him], but he didn't say anything about any issue,” “It just shows that he served his country,” and “I don't understand how his military record flows into the economy... I just don't see how the two connect.”

Some female participants felt the advertisements were not reflective of their own research or experiences, which left them questioning the content of the advertisements: “It annoyed me because from my own personal research I feel that it [the economy] works differently. It's not as simple as it said and it bothered me that they're simplifying the issue.” On the same issue, other participants remarked, “My own reading of this material is not necessarily saying that we're gonna tax the heck out of these small businesses,” and “It makes you want to research that whole topic a little bit because I haven't felt that our economy has been solid for a long time.”

RQ3: How did participants react to the tone of the advertisements?

In response to one negative advertisement that compared Obama to Chavez, male and female participants reacted differently. Women's reactions were more volatile than the men's. When asked about their first reaction, one woman stated simply, “Offended.” Others said, “Just outrageous” and “It's insulting to my intelligence that McCain thinks that's an appropriate ad. Like that's actually gonna get him somewhere.” Another

female participant followed up by saying, “It’s also insulting because he thinks that by advertising this to the Latino community, he’s gonna get more people’s support.”

In contrast, men were more likely to relate positively to the same advertisement. Responses included: “I thought it was hilarious and that’s why I liked it,” “This ad was smart because it attacked the people who don’t know and don’t follow politics that closely,” and “I really liked the Chávez [advertisement]. I really liked, loved it. It was a unique attack. Definitely stood out to me.”

When reviewing the “Obama-Chávez” advertisement, both male and female participants thought it was a president’s responsibility to talk to other leaders: “That’s what presidents do... so what’s wrong with that picture?” “They have to talk to everyone,” and “Talking with other leaders is not the end...just communicating is not a bad idea.”

Even though most participants were averse to the “Obama-Chávez” advertisement, both men and women generally viewed negative or attack advertisements less favorably than they did positive advertisements. Participants stated, “I am a big fan of positive advertisements. Talk about what you want to achieve, don’t bash your opponent,” and “I just like the fact that he just didn’t bash McCain. I guess I respect him more as a candidate.” Other participants added, “It appeals to me more when they’re not attacking the other candidate because then it just seems like another political attack that probably doesn’t have a lot behind it,” and “I liked how he presented himself rather than trying to attack the other person.”

Discussion

Existing literature on the content of political television advertisements in America has failed to consider the reactions of second generation Hispanic-Americans. This research helps address this critical gap. The literature indicates that political advertisements in Spanish have historically focused on portraying Hispanics as a homogenous ethnic group that is highly assimilated within U.S. society and content with this fact, or they have portrayed a candidate's characters in a positive light, rather than discussing policy that affects the Latino community (Abrajano, 2005; Connaughton & Jarvis, 2004a; Connaughton & Jarvis 2004b). However, this focus group study suggests that the content of advertisements is very important to second generation Hispanic-Americans. Male and female participants did not relate to either Spanish or English language television advertisements that were viewed during their focus group discussions. They observed that the advertisements did not discuss any issues they considered important, such as the Dream Act, student loans, and affordable education. Viewing the advertisements in Spanish did not mitigate this problem.

Contrary to what the political advertisements portray, studies affirm that Hispanic-Americans are not a homogenous group of individuals who all care about the same issues. For example, second generation Hispanic-Americans are more comfortable speaking English than their parents (Alba, 2004; Fry & Passel 2009; Pew Hispanic Center 2004). This information matches the findings from this focus group study. Whether the advertisement was in English or Spanish made no difference to the male and female participants' comprehension; in other words, their discussion about the English advertisements indicated their clear understanding of the explicit and implicit meanings

behind the messages. They felt the advertisements were meant to target older Hispanics from the previous generation and not them. Moreover, both male and female focus group participants stated that the television advertisements shown to them did not discuss policy issues; this includes the Dream Act, an issue of great importance to them, also failing in content.

Although participants in the focus group did not relate to any advertisement regardless of its language, one singular commercial created positive reactions among the men and even more among the women. This particular advertisement showcased Obama speaking in Spanish the entire length of the advertisement. Participants expressed appreciation for his effort, explaining that it helped them connect with the candidate. This finding may relate to studies that have found that second generation Hispanics have better recall of and are more persuaded by commercial advertisements in Spanish than in English due to the mother tongue eliciting an emotive response that may be due to a possible subconscious affinity for the Spanish language (Albonetti & Dominguez, 1989; Nicholls & Roslow, 1999; Roslow & Nicholls, 1996). Beyond that however, participants were conscientious that the candidate was making a concerted effort to appeal to them. Nobody was fooled into thinking that candidate Obama was a native Spanish speaker; instead, they recognized that he was stepping outside his comfort zone in order to reach out to Spanish-speaking voters. For many, it seemed that that effort carried more weight than the language in which the advertisement was delivered.

Furthermore, studies show that second generation Latinos, who are more acculturated than their first generation parents, are more distrusting of the government. (de la Garza, Falcon, Garcia, 1996; Michelson, 2001; Michelson, 2003; Wenzel, 2006).

Male and female focus group participants questioned the credibility of many advertisements. Criticisms included that the advertisement content failed to provide solutions (e.g., about Wall Street's failings), contradicted their own knowledge of and experience with the topics (e.g., about the economy), or showed a side of a candidate (i.e., military record) that had little association with presidential duties.

As a natural reaction, women and men appeared to have a preference for positive as opposed to negative advertisements, therefore comments about negative ads should be interpreted cautiously. An advertisement that compared candidate Obama to Venezuelan President Chavez provoked a very strong negative reaction in women, as they felt insulted that a candidate could pander to Hispanic voters by making such accusations, associations and remarks about his opponent. Both men and women agreed that a president should talk to leaders of other countries. Both also preferred hearing a candidate talk about what he wanted to achieve rather than accuse and criticize his opponent.

Implications for Practitioners

This study suggests that future campaigns have the potential to be more successful in persuading second generation Hispanic-Americans to vote for their candidates. The goal of both Democratic and Republican campaigns is to create advertisements that this target group may find relevant and compelling, and thus influence voters' positive and negative perceptions of candidates. This can be achieved if the campaigns create advertisements that are: bilingual, concentrate on certain issues while avoiding others, maintain a positive tone, and provide information that people find credible.

The literature review and the study's findings show that second generation Hispanics speak more English than Spanish, but they respond positive to Spanish advertisements. Including Spanish in English language advertisements increases the attention paid by Hispanics since they immediately relate to the bilingual advertisement. Airing these advertisements in both Latino and American mainstream television channels will help reach more second generation Hispanics. Including statements from Hispanic-Americans using phrases and expressions culturally relevant to Latinos could potentially increase instinctive buy-in from a second generation Hispanic target population.

All focus group participants wanted to hear about education, the Dream Act, and student loans. Findings from these groups are not generalizable, but they do highlight the importance of creating well-researched and targeted messages. Campaigns should check the validity of these findings with other existing research and conduct new investigations to better generate future advertisements. In order to sway second-generation Hispanic voters more effectively, campaigns must create advertisements that concentrate solely on education policies that pertain to Latinos, or on issues that this specific group wants to hear about, such as health care and immigration. Furthermore, political campaigns should limit advertisements mentioning the pursuit of the "American Dream" because it does not resonate much with this group that is pursuing higher-level education and seek more specific information. Finally, advertisements must acknowledge the diversity within second generation Hispanic-Americans rather than treating them as a homogenous group. Advertisements that imply that all Latinos think alike universally repel this voting population.

The negative advertisements shown in the focus groups, whether in Spanish or English, attacked the opponent's policies, and often times exaggerated the opponent's stance on issues. This created an adverse reaction from participants towards the campaign that sponsored the advertisement because it defied their knowledge on the issues, adding to the distrust and cynicism that they already feel towards the government and towards elections in general. Future advertisements in Spanish would do better than to accuse international leaders with outrageous statements about opponents, or generally setting a negative tone. Instead, campaigns could see if the ads that generate more constructive advertisements that explain the candidate's policies, show how their past political record supports the candidate's positions, and establish comparisons to their opponents, are more effective with this particular group of Latinos.

Furthermore, campaigns should be accurate with and accountable for the information displayed in political advertisements. Second generation Hispanic-Americans are already very skeptical of the details relayed in advertisements and are consequently distrusting of the candidates. If the goal is to win second generation Hispanic-American votes, advertisements must focus on topics of interest, such as education, and be comprehensive, truthful, and reinforced with verifiable data.

Limitations

Focus groups are effective in engaging a group of people in discussing a subject and getting their insight, thoughts, and feelings about a subject. Yet this method has its limitations because it does not produce data that is generalizable to the population. Therefore, it is important not to misuse these findings, but instead build quantitative studies from these results.

Three other important limitations are, as stated in the Methods, the original research proposal aimed at recruiting only second generation Mexican-American young adults. Because recruiting was difficult I opened the study to Hispanic-Americans in general. Different cultural backgrounds might have yielded a wider range of responses than if participants all came from a similar cultural background. Such a mixed group of participants might have drowned some voices and emphasized others. For example only one Cuban American, who was also the only Republican, participated. Cuban Americans are known to be more conservative but with only one participant this opinion might have been diluted. Second, the optimal number of focus groups would have been four, two for each gender, but due to the insufficient recruits and short amount of time, I was advised that two groups would suffice. Finally, all the recruits were pursuing a higher-level degree at the time of the focus group, not allowing diversity in educational backgrounds.

Also, this study showed only certain political television advertisements to the participants, and thus could have elicited certain types of responses. Time and resources limited the number of advertisements shown to each focus group. I chose the political advertisements based on language, tone, and issues discussed. If there were no limitations of time and resources I would have recruited more participants and exhibited a greater variety of advertisements not just via television but also through radio, social media, mobile technology, and popular Internet websites that could possibly have prompted a wider range of responses. It is also important to note that these advertisements targeted the general public and not the age demographic of the participants. Most young adults get their news from the Internet, so looking at advertisements on the Internet that were targeting them would have yielded different results.

Future Research

Based on this study, I have four recommendations for future research. These would be a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to learn more about the behaviors and opinions of this very large voting block. The first study would see if second-generation Latinos are acculturated enough to be treated as a voting block similar to Anglo-Americans of the same voting age, separated by education and income level, or if they should be treated differently based on their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This study should have two components, starting with in-depth interviews, and then following up with a survey. Deriving from these findings, another study would be to conduct a survey with second generation Latinos to learn more about the issues that interest them on a national, state, and local level. A fourth study would be a content analysis of television and internet advertisements of the 2012 elections that are clearly targeted to Latinos, to see about the issues, tonality, and message framing in the advertisements.

Future studies should be able to find how second generation Hispanic-Americans differ in political views from first generation Hispanics, third generation Hispanics, other minorities, and White Americans. Hispanic-Americans' acculturation to U.S. culture and mastery of the English language is eminent. At the same time, their closeness to their roots and mother tongue and racial diversity makes them quite unique as a voting block. The size of the population of second generation Hispanics becoming voting adults in the next ten years is staggering, which is why it is crucial to learn about their political opinions now.

Appendix A: RECRUITING ADVERTISEMENT

Looking for US Latinos to participate in a Focus Group Research Study

This research will conduct group interviews and will look at the opinions of U.S. born Latinos to the political television advertisements from the 2008 Presidential Campaign.

You may be eligible to participate if you:

- Are between 18-35 years old
- Are born in the US with at least one parent from a Spanish-speaking Central or South American country
- Are bilingual in English and Spanish
- Are registered to vote

You will participate in a group discussion lasting approximately 2 hours located in East Baltimore.

If eligible, you will receive a compensation of \$50 in cash after participating in the group interview.

HIRB #: 2010109

Contact: Cristina Salazar

Telephone: 651-208-8625

email: salazarcristina@yahoo.com

If interested, please fill out this short questionnaire to see if you are eligible

Appendix B: PRESCREENING QUESTIONNAIRE

First name: _____

Place of birth: _____

How old are you: _____

What country was your mother or father born? _____

Are you registered to vote? ☐ Yes ☐ No

How much Spanish do you know? (Circle one)

Fluent - Some Spanish - Not much

What language do you speak at home more often? ☐ English ☐ Spanish

Are you available to participate in a group interview in the afternoon during a weekday in a few weeks in East Baltimore/Washington DC? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, I will contact you in the next week with the specific date and time.

Telephone number: _____

Email address: _____

Appendix C: CONSENT FORM AND QUESTIONNAIRE

November 15, 2010

Dear volunteer,

My name is Cristina Salazar. I am a graduate student in the School of Advanced Academic Programs at the Johns Hopkins University.

I am conducting a research study that compares the perception of second-generation Latinos (born in the U.S.) to the television advertisements in English and in Spanish from the Presidential Campaign of 2008. My goal is to learn how this specific generation of Latinos perceived these ads.

I obtained your name and address from the recruitment flier that you answered in the Johns Hopkins Gazette ad.

I am asking you to participate in a focus group along with approximately 10 other people. We will discuss the 2008 Presidential race.

The focus group will last about 120 minutes. It will be filmed and taped for accuracy in transcription, but your name will not appear in the report and the videotape will be destroyed once the study is done. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will be compensated a total of \$50.00 which will be paid at the end of the focus group discussion. You may withdraw from the study at any time during the group and you will be compensated \$10.00 for your time, which will be given at the end of the focus group.

The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call me at (410) 955-3734 or (651) 208-8625. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or feel that you have not been treated fairly, please call the Homewood Institutional Review Board at Johns Hopkins University at (410) 516-6580.

Your signature indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to participate. Your signature also indicates that you have given permission to be audiotape recorded during the focus group. You can keep a copy of this form.

Sincerely,

Cristina Salazar
salazarcristina@yahoo.com
HIRB No. 2010109

Print Name

Signature

Date

First name only: _____ Age: _____

Place of birth: _____

Parents' place of birth: _____

Are you registered to vote? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Can you speak Spanish? ☐ Yes-Fluent ☐ Some ☐ Not good at all

What language do you speak at home more often? _____

What language do you speak at work more often? _____

What is your party affiliation?

☐ Democratic Party ☐ Republican Party ☐ Independent

How do you get your news?

☐ Mostly watching nightly network news like ABC, CBS, NBC

☐ Mostly watching cable news like CNN, MSNBC, Fox News

☐ Mostly reading newspapers

☐ Mostly through the Internet

☐ Watching mostly local news

☐ Watching mostly national news

☐ Through friends and family

What is your marital status?

☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed

Do you have any children under 18?

☐ Yes ☐ No

What is your highest degree completed?

☐ High school diploma ☐ Associate or technical degree

☐ Attended college/some college ☐ Bachelor's degree

☐ Graduate School

Please fill out questionnaire and return when you are done and want to participate in study.

Appendix D: MODERATOR'S GUIDE AND SCRIPT

Welcome

"Good evening and welcome everyone. Thank you for taking the time to join our research discussion about politics and your Hispanic/Latino background. My name is Cristina Salazar and I am conducting this group interview as part of my thesis research project for a Master's degree in Communication."

Overview of the Topic

"The main purpose of this study is to learn your opinion and perception of the last Presidential Campaign. You were invited to participate because you are all born in the United States, and have parents from a Spanish-speaking country in Central or South America, which makes you 2nd generation Americans. I want to learn more about your opinions and perceptions of this last presidential campaign.

We are going to cover a lot of material tonight. I will ask you questions about your background, the media, and then a fun activity of watching some ads.

Ground Rules

First I want to explain how things are going to work tonight. "There are no right or wrong answers. I expect that you will have differing points of view. Please feel free to share your point of view even if it differs from what others have said."

"We are recording the session because we don't want to miss any of your comments. No names will be included in any reports. Your comments are confidential."

I have name tents here in front of us tonight with your first name. They help me remember names, but they can also help you. Don't feel like you have to respond to me all the time. If you want to follow up on something that someone has said, you want to agree, or disagree, or give an example, feel free to do that. The goal is for you to have a conversation with one another about these questions. I just ask that you speak one at a time so I hear everything you have to say and the tape recorder can get your comments. I am here to ask questions, listen and make sure everyone has a chance to share. I am interested in hearing from each of you. So if you're talking a lot, I may ask you to give others a chance. And if you aren't saying much I may call on you. I just want to make sure all of you have a chance to share your ideas."

"I am handing out a packet of papers stapled together. I will refer to those during the interview and will ask you to mark down answers on each."

"If you have a cell phone or pager please put it on the quiet mode, and if you need to answer step out to do so. Feel free to get up and get more refreshments if you would like."

Let's begin. Let's find out more about each other by going around the table one at a time. Tell me your name, age, if you are working or in school, and if you are married, single, divorced, etc.

(Go around the table to each volunteer to give them a chance to answer)

Identity and acculturation (12-15 minutes)

Question 1: What language do you speak mostly at home?

- 1.2. What about at work?
- 1.3. What about with friends?

Question 2: What language are you most comfortable speaking?

Question 3: When you come back from work and want to relax, you turn on the TV, and what station do you turn on to?

- 3.2. What about watching the news? What channel do you watch the news?

Question 4: Compared to your parents, do you feel fully better accustomed to the American culture?

Question 5: When you hear the word Latino, what comes to your mind?

- 5.2. When you hear Mexican, what comes to your mind?

Political opinion and Acculturation (12-15 minutes)

Question 6: Do you normally vote in elections?

- 6.2. Do you vote in local/city elections? Midterm elections?
- 6.3. Did you vote in the last Presidential election?
- 6.4. Did you vote in the primaries?

Question 7: Did you vote in any election previous to November 2008?

Question 8: How much did you follow the last Presidential campaign 2008?

- Did you follow the election more closely than previous elections? Why?

Question 9: Now think back, how do you normally learn about candidate's positions on issues during the campaign?

Question 10 (to cut out if time requires): Please look in your packet for the paper titled Sheet A. It should be the first sheet of paper. Please circle the THREE media sources that were most influential to you. (Wait 2-3 minutes). Then read list and ask them to raise their hands if they circled that source. Talk about the top three choices

- 10.2. What is it about the (two bottom choices) that do not interest you?
- 10.3. What is so special about the (three top choices)?

“Now we are going to talk about the 2008 Campaign”

TV Ad recall from the 2008 campaign (10-12 minutes)

Question 11: Thinking back on the 2008 Presidential campaign, what were your impressions of John McCain? Just shout them out if something comes to your mind.

11.2. What about your impressions of Barack Obama as a candidate back in November? (If nobody is talking: Did you watch any of the debates or the Convention speeches?

- 11.3. Which of these is the strongest impression?

Question 12: Do you remember watching ads for McCain and Obama?

12.2. Do you think the McCain ads were positive or negative?

12.3. What about the Obama Campaign ads, were they positive or negative?

12.4. Which ads did you like or dislike? Why or why not?

12.5. Who did you perceive as running a negative campaign?

Question 13. Do you remember watching TV ads in Spanish from the Obama or McCain campaign last year?

13.2. What do you remember about the Spanish ads?

13.3. Were the McCain TV ads in Spanish positive or negative?

13.4. What about the Obama Spanish ads? Positive or negative?

Question 14: Now look at Sheet B and try to write down as much as you remember about the Spanish and English ads you remember. I realize that it was last year so anything you remember. You do not have to use full sentences. (give 2 minutes, then go around the room and ask): What did you write down?

14.2 (if people do remember ads in Spanish ask this question): Do you remember how Hispanics were portrayed in the ads?

14.3. What about the narrator?

Viewing political ads (60 minutes)

I will now show you six ads in total. After each ad, go to Sheet C, to the line on the ad, and circle a number 0 through 10 (where a zero means you had a very negative impression of the ad, 5 means you are neutral towards the ad and 10 means you had a very positive impression) how each ad made you feel after that.

Show advertisement 1 of 6

Question 15: How many of you circled 1, how many circled 2, etc. (Then ask others what they thought.)

Start discussion with rating with most people or dominant idea.

15.2. Overall, did you like the ad or not?

15.3. Did you feel the ad spoke to you effectively or not at all? Why?

Question 16: Did anything bother you about this ad?

Question 17: What did you remember the most about this ad? What stands out?

Question 18: Did you feel the ad described the candidate's policy successfully? Why?

Question 19: Does it make you want to vote for the candidate?

Show advertisement 2 of 6

Circle a number on Sheet C.

Repeat questions 15 through 19

Show advertisement 3 of 6
Circle a number on Sheet C.
Repeat questions 15 through 19

Show advertisement 4 of 6
Circle a number on Sheet C.
Repeat questions 15 through 19

Show advertisement 5 of 6
Circle a number on Sheet C.
Repeat questions 15 through 19

Show advertisement 6 of 6
Circle a number on Sheet C.
Repeat questions 15 through 19

Question 20: Do you feel the ads in Spanish were more successful, least successful or were no different than the ads in English? Why?

Question 21: Which ads seemed the most honest? Genuine? Memorable?

Question 22: What was the most striking difference between the Spanish and English ads?

Question 23: Trying to forget the last election, and making a decision based just on these ads, which candidate would you vote for? Why?

Closing exercise

I have one last request before this interview is over. In the last page of your packet, there is an empty sheet of paper. If you could send a postcard to Obama or McCain and ask them about Hispanics or Latinos, what would you say to them? Please write down your comment or question on the last card, and when you are done please give them to me and I will give you the compensation for participating in this focus group. Thank you very much for your time and all your comments.

Script Appendix

Sheet A (To cut out if time requires)

Circle the media source most influential to you

Television Radio Newspapers Magazines Internet

Sheet B

Write down anything you remember from the Spanish ads from the last Presidential Campaign.

Sheet C

Advertisement #1 Circle a number

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Most negative | | | | | Neutral | | | | | Most positive |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Advertisement #2 Circle a number

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Most negative | | | | | Neutral | | | | | Most positive |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Advertisement #3 Circle a number

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Most negative | | | | | Neutral | | | | | Most positive |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Advertisement #4 Circle a number

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Most negative | | | | | Neutral | | | | | Most positive |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Advertisement #5 Circle a number

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Most negative | | | | | Neutral | | | | | Most positive |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Advertisement #6 Circle a number

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Most negative | | | | | Neutral | | | | | Most positive |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Appendix E: DESCRIPTION OF TELEVISION ADS

1. Obama Campaign: “Un mensaje de Barack Obama” 10/23/2008 in Spanish.

Candidate Obama talks in Spanish for thirty seconds. Describes the American Dream.

2. Obama Campaign: “No hay mayor obligación” 09/22/2009 in Spanish.

Narrator states that no job means a bad economy. Attack on McCain on his quote:

fundamentals of the economy are strong. Images of graphs and clip of his statement.

3. Obama Campaign: “Tested” 10/09/2008 in English.

Narrator attacks McCain testing his leadership judgment. Clip of McCain’s statement

during a debate on how to solve the mortgage crisis, followed by details of his plan that

would make Wall Street profit.

4. McCain Campaign: “Riesgo” 10/16/2008 in Spanish.

Narrator explains that candidate Obama’s tax plan will cause people to lose their jobs and

will be detrimental to small businesses. Attacks Obama and Democrats in Congress.

Shows still images of Hispanics and graphs.

5. McCain Campaign: “Obama-Chávez” 09/19/2008 in Spanish.

Narrator accuses candidate Obama to wanting to talk to President Hugo Chavez with no

preconditions. Clip of Chavez insulting the United States, bleeping his insults.

6. McCain Campaign: “Freedom” 10/31/2008 in English.

McCain narrates about his past experience in the military and his ability to grow the U.S.

economy. Clips of McCain serving the military, and then talking with middle class

workers and campaigning.

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Vita

Born in Lima, Peru, Cristina Gladys Salazar Chávez grew up in Washington, D.C. and Bogotá, Colombia, before returning to her hometown. She attended Macalester College in Saint Paul, Minnesota and received a bachelor of arts in biology and environmental studies. She worked as a horticulturist at Bailey Nurseries in Woodbury, Minnesota for five years, and got involved in politics for the first time, volunteering for MoveOn.org during the 2004 Presidential campaign. She then moved to Baltimore, Maryland to work at the Johns Hopkins University, Bloomberg School of Public Health as an academic program manager in the Department of International Health. Cristina volunteers in every national and statewide campaign she can.